

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

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IO-11 DHA-02 SAJ-01 /075 W

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P 050727Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5841

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT KS

SUBJECT: PROTEST STATEMENT BY ROK OPPOSITION LEADERS

REF: STATE 53325

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MARCH 1 STATEMENT AND LIST OF TWELVE
NAMES AS REQUESTED IN REFTEL.

BEGIN QUOTE:

STATEMENT READ AT ECUMENICAL CHURCH SERVICE,
MYONDONG CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL, SEOUL, MARCH 1, 1976.

DECLARATION OF DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL SALVATION

ON THE OCCASION OF THE 57TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SAM-IL
INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT, WE FEEL THAT IT WILL BRING DISGRACE ON
THE BLOOD SHED BY OUR FOREFATHERS ON MARCH 1, 1919 TO SIT IDLE
AND DO NOTHING ABOUT THE EXISTING SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY;
THEREFORE WE ARE GATHERED HERE TODAY TO PROCLAIM THIS
DECLARATION OF DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL SALVATION.

THROUGHOUT REPEATED TRIALS AND ORDEALS, OUR PEOPLE HAVE NEVER
GIVEN UP HOPE. WE HAVE RISEN FROM THE SHAMBLES OF THE KOREAN
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WAR. WE HAVE TOPPLED THE SYNGMAN RHEE DICTATORIAL REGIME

THROUGH THE STUDENT UPRISING OF APRIL 19, 1960, THUS REVIVING
IN THE HEARTS OF OUR PEOPLE THEIR CONFIDENCE IN FREE
DEMOCRACY.

OUR PEOPLE ARE ONCE AGAIN SUFFERING UNDER A DICTATORIAL REGIME.
THE PRINCIPLE OF SEPARATION OF POWER EXISTS IN NAME ONLY.
UNDER THE PRETEXT OF NATIONAL SECURITY, OUR FREEDOM OF RELIGION
AND CONSCIENCE IS THREATENED DAILY AND THE FREEDOM OF PRESS
AND UNIVERSITY IS BEING STRANGLERED. BECAUSE OF THE KOREA-JAPAN
NORMALIZATION TREATY WHICH THE INCUMBENT GOVERNMENT CONCLUDED
WITH JAPAN, OUR ECONOMY HAS BECOME TOTALLY DEPENDENT UPON THE
JAPANESE ECONOMY.

IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY, THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA IS NOTHING
MORE THAN AN ORPHAN. OUR GOVERNMENT HAS COMPLETELY IGNORED
THE THIRD WORLD NATIONS WHICH HAVE NOW GROWN UP TO BE A NEW
POWER AND HAS THUS BECOME COMPLETELY DEPENDENT ON THE WESTERN
WORLD, BUT IT HAS BEEN FORSAKEN BY THE WESTERN WORLD ALSO.

THE INCUMBENT REGIME MUST ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUCH
CONSEQUENCES. IT MUST REALIZE THAT BECAUSE OF ITS REPRESSION
AGAINST DEMOCRATIC FORCES WITHIN THE COUNTRY IT IS NO LONGER
TRUSTED BY THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIES OF THE WESTERN WORLD. IT
MUST NOT OVERLOOK ITS OWN MISTAKE OF NOT ACCURATELY ASSESSING
THE INTERNATIONAL TREND.

IT IS TIME THAT WE GATHER ALL OUR DEMOCRATIC STRENGTH WITHIN
AND OUT OF THE COUNTRY AND INITIATE A VIGOROUS MARCH TOWARD
"NATIONAL UNIFICATION". YET, IN THIS COUNTRY TODAY, THE
PEOPLE'S BASIC RIGHTS ARE VIOLATED AND THEIR FREEDOMS DEPRIVED
UNDER ONE-MAN DICTATORSHIP.

THUS, OUR PEOPLE HAVE LOST THEIR SENSE OF DIRECTION, THEIR
BELIEF IN DEMOCRACY AND ARE SIMPLY MOVING STEP BY STEP TOWARD
TOTAL BANKRUPTCY. WE MUST NOT LET THIS CONTINUE, AND THERE-
FORE WE HEREBY PROCLAIM THIS "DECLARATION OF DEMOCRACY AND
NATIONAL SALVATION."

1. THIS NATION MUST BE FOUNDED ON DEMOCRACY

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DEMOCRACY IS OUR NATIONAL PRINCIPLE AND THEREFORE DEMOCRACY
SHOULD NOT BE RESTRICTED IN ANY WAY UNDER ANY EXCUSE. DEMO-
CRATIC STRENGTH IS THE MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL STRENGTHS IN OUR
COMPETITION WITH THE COMMUNIST REGIME IN THE NORTH. WITHOUT
DEMOCRATIC STRENGTH, NATIONAL DEFENSE STRENGTH AND ECONOMIC
STRENGTH ARE NOTHING BUT HOUSES BUILT ON SAND.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY THEN? IT IS NOT A SYSTEM PRACTICED IN ANY

SPECIFIC COUNTRY. IT IS A SYSTEM IN A SOCIETY WHICH IS CREATED AND CONTINUOUSLY IMPROVED BY THE ENTIRE COMPONENT MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY SO THAT IT CAN BEST PROMOTE THE BENEFIT AND WELL BEING OF EVERY COMPONENT MEMBER. THEREFORE, IN DEMOCRACY "FROM THE PEOPLE" IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN "FOR THE PEOPLE." THE JUDGMENT AS TO WHAT IS BEST "FOR THE PEOPLE" MUST COME "FROM THE PEOPLE." IF PEOPLE'S JUDGMENT IS DISREGARDED, THERE IS NO LONGER ANY DEMOCRACY. IT IS LIKE SAYING THAT DEMOCRACY IS ONE MAN'S ORDERING AND THE PEOPLE'S SUBMISSION TO THAT ORDER. PEOPLE DO NOT WANT SUBMISSION TO ORDER; THEY WANT INDEPENDENT PARTICIPATION. PEOPLE CANNOT GIVE UP THEIR BASIC RIGHTS TO CHECK AND CRITICIZE THEIR GOVERNMENT BECAUSE IT MEANS THEIR GIVING UP A DEMOCRACY.

WHAT IS THE WAY TO MATERIALIZE THE "FROM THE PEOPLE" IN DEMOCRACY? THE KEY IS IN FREEDOM AND THE BASIC RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE. IN ANOTHER WORDS, THE FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES FREELY WITHOUT ANY PHYSICAL OR MENTAL THREAT MUST BE FULLY GUARANTEED.

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WE THEREFORE DEMAND THAT THE EMERGENCY MEASURE, WHICH OPPRESSES THE FREEDOM OF PEOPLE, BE REPEALED AND THE DEMOCRATIC PERSONS AND STUDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED FOR DEMANDING DEMOCRACY BE RELEASED. WE DEMAND THAT FREEDOM OF PRESS, ASSEMBLY AND PUBLICATION BE RETURNED TO THE PEOPLE SO THAT THE VIEWS OF PEOPLE MAY BE FREELY EXPRESSED.

NEXT, WE DEMAND THAT PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS MUST BE FULLY RESTORED. THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY MUST REFLECT THE FREELY EXPRESSED WILL OF THE PEOPLE IN ITS LEGISLATION, AND THE GOVERNMENT MUST REFLECT SUCH LEGISLATION IN ITS ADMINISTRATION.

THIRDLY, WE DEMAND INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY. WITHOUT INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY, THERE IS NO WAY FOR THE PEOPLE TO PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM THE ATROCITIES OF THE POWERFUL. ACCORDINGLY, IF THERE IS A GOVERNMENT THAT WANTS TO SUBJUGATE THE JUDICIARY, THAT GOVERNMENT FROM THE BEGINNING HAS NO INTENTION TO SERVE THE PEOPLE.

2. CONCEPT AND POSTURE OF ECONOMIC NATION-BUILDING MUST BE RE-EXAMINED

WE DO REALIZE THAT ECONOMIC PROGRESS IS IMPORTANT TO PROMOTION OF OUR NATIONAL STRENGTH. HOWEVER, AN ECONOMIC STRENGTH IS NOT NECESSARILY A NATIONAL STRENGTH. THE INCUMBENT REGIME HAS THIS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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MISTAKEN NOTION AND IS SACRIFICING EVERYTHING BEFORE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

WHAT IS THE RESULT OF SUCH EFFORT? DURING 1974 AND 1975, DESPITE ALL THE EFFORTS OF OUR EXPORT INDUSTRIES, OUR TRADE DEFICIT AMOUNTED TO NO LESS THAN 4 BILLION DOLLARS, AND THERE IS NO HOPE THAT SUCH A GAP CAN BE REDUCED IN THE FUTURE. AS OF THE END OF 1975, OUR FOREIGN DEBTS TOTALED 5.78 BILLION DOLLARS. WHEN THOSE ENTERPRISES WHICH WERE ESTABLISHED WITH FOREIGN LOANS COME TO TOTAL BANKRUPTCY THROUGH INSOLVENT OPERATIONS, WHO IS GOING TO BEAR THE BURDEN OF THIS ENORMOUS SUM OF FOREIGN DEBT? WORKERS ARE DEPRIVED OF THEIR RIGHT TO ORGANIZE LABOR UNIONS AS WELL AS THEIR RIGHT TO STRIKE. LABORERS AND FARMERS ARE EXPOSED TO EXPLOITATION BY FOREIGN CAPITAL AND FOREIGN-LOAN ENTERPRISES. THE CONCEPT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BASED ON SUCH A POLICY WAS NOT FOR THE PEOPLE FROM THE START. THE MISTAKE WAS THAT THE GOVERNMENT DID NOT FOSTER THE ECONOMIC POWER OF THE PEOPLE FIRST AND THEN ON THE BASIS OF SUCH ECONOMIC POWER OF THE PEOPLE PROMOTED EXPORT INDUSTRIES. IT WAS A MISTAKE TO BUILD A LARGE MODERN INDUSTRY AT THE SACRIFICE OF AGRICULTURE. THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM SO COMPLETELY DEPENDENT UPON FOREIGN LOANS HAS FROM THE BEGINNING CONTAINED AMPLE CAUSES FOR CORRUPTION.

A TOTAL ECONOMIC BANKRUPTCY OF THIS COUNTRY IS A MATTER OF TIME IF WE LET THIS CONTINUE. THE PRESENT REGIME HAS LONG LOST THE ABILITY TO SAVE THIS COUNTRY FROM THE COMING BANKRUPTCY. THIS IS BECAUSE ECONOMIC IRREGULARITIES AND CORRUPTION ORIGINATE FROM THE VERY CORE OF THE POWER STRUCTURE.

UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE EXCEPT FOR THE PARK REGIME TO TAKE THE RESPONSIBILITY AND STEP DOWN FROM POWER. IT IS OUR JUDGMENT THAT A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT AT THIS TIME IS INEVITABLE IN ORDER TO PREVENT OUR COUNTRY FROM PLUNGING INTO A TOTAL ECONOMIC BANKRUPTCY, TO REGAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY AND TO BE ABLE TO NEGOTIATE WITH OUR DEBTOR NATIONS AND BANKS FOR DEFERMENT OF PAYMENT.

IF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT DOES NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT COURAGE TO STEP DOWN, WE THEN DEMAND THAT IT MAKE AN OVERALL REVIEW OF THE EXISTING ECONOMIC POLICY, THAT IT MUST NOT ATTEMPT TO JUS-
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TIFY ITS MISTAKES BUT ADMIT THEM FRANKLY, THAT IT MUST GIVE UP ITS EXCESSIVELY LARGE BUDGET FOR THIS YEAR, THAT IT MUST BE MORE BOLD AND EXTENSIVE IN REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH SO AS TO FOSTER THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE PEOPLE.

ONLY BY DOING SO, CAN WE POSSIBLY RECTIFY THE UNHAPPY SITUATION WHERE THE RICH GET RICHER WHILE THE POOR BECOME POORER; THE PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE IN DEMOCRACY CAN BE RESTORED, AND WE MAY PLAY THE LEADING ROLE AGAINST THE COMMUNIST REGIME IN THE NORTH IN OUR EFFORTS TO REALIZE "NATIONAL UNIFICATION."

3. NATIONAL UNIFICATION IS THE FOREMOST TASK OF OUR PEOPLE TODAY

THE TRAGEDY OF TERRITORIAL DIVISION IN OUR COUNTRY HAS PROVIDED AN EXCUSE FOR DICTATORIAL REGIMES BOTH IN THE SOUTH AND NORTH FOR THE LAST 30 YEARS. IT HAS ALSO EXHAUSTED OUR SPIRITUAL AND MATERIAL RESOURCES WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN MOBILIZED FOR OUR NATIONAL PROSPERITY AND DEVELOPMENT. TO MAINTAIN WITHOUT FOREIGN MILITARY AID AN ARMY OF OVER ONE MILLION EQUIPPED WITH MODERN WEAPONRY IN THE SOUTH AND NORTH OF THIS PENINSULA IS IMPOSSIBLE IF WE COME TO CONSIDER THE PRODUCTIVITY AND ECONOMIC CAPABILITY OF OUR PENINSULA ALONE. WHAT IS MORE INTOLERABLE IS THE FACT THAT OUR PEOPLE'S WISDOM AND CREATIVE ENERGY, WHICH SHOULD BE USED FOR OUR CULTURAL CREATION, IS WASTED FOR A DESTRUCTIVE CAUSE.

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"NATIONAL UNIFICATION" THEREFORE IS THE SUPREME TASK FACED BY THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY. IT IS A WALL THAT MUST BE DEMOLISHED WITH THE WISDOM AND POWER OF THE ENTIRE 50 MILLION PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY. IF THERE IS ANY ONE PERSON OR A GROUP THAT UTILIZES THE "NATIONAL UNIFICATION" FOR HIS OR THEIR STRATEGIC PURPOSES, SUCH A DEED WILL NOT ESCAPE THE MOST SEVERE PUNISHMENT BY HISTORY.

"NATIONAL UNIFICATION" CAN BE NEAR OR FAR AWAY DEPENDING ON THE ATTITUDES OF POLITICIANS IN THE SOUTH AND NORTH. IF THEY ARE INDEED CONCERNED OVER THE FUTURE OF THIS COUNTRY AND PEOPLE, THEY MUST POSSESS THE WISDOM AND COURAGE TO INDUCE THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION TOWARD OUR BENEFIT AND TO BOLDLY GRASP ANY AVAILABLE OPPORTUNITY FOR OUR NATIONAL UNIFICATION. SUCH IS THE INDEPENDENT DIPLOMACY THAT WE MUST PURSUE.

IN DOING SO, THERE IS ONE BASIC PRINCIPLE THAT WE MUST NOT GIVE UP. THIS IS THE VERY PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRACY WHICH DICTATES THAT THE BEST SYSTEM AND POLICY SUITED FOR THIS COUNTRY AND PEOPLE MUST COME "FROM THE PEOPLE." ARE WE FOSTERING OUR DEMOCRATIC STRENGTH IN PREPARATION FOR THAT DAY? OR ARE WE SUFFOCATING OUR DEMOCRATIC STRENGTH? THE FOSTERING OF DEMOCRATIC STRENGTH IS THE SHORTEST WAY TO VICTORY OVER COMMUNISM AND TO "NATIONAL UNIFICATION."

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THIS IS THE WAY FOR THE ENTIRE 50 MILLION PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY TO CREATE A NEW HISTORY.

THIS IS THE WAY THAT WE RE-LIGHT THE TORCH OF ASIA WHICH OUR PEOPLE SO PROUDLY CARRIED DURING THE MARCH 1 INDEPENDENCE MOVE-

MENT IN 1919 AND THE APRIL 19 STUDENT UPRISING IN 1960.

THIS IS THE WAY THAT WE DEMONSTRATE TO THE WORLD THE REAL
DEMOCRATIC STRENGTH THAT WE HAVE ACCUMULATED THROUGH OUR
STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS.

THIS IS THE WAY BY WHICH WE CAN BUILD A UNIFIED AND PEACEFUL
NATION WHERE JUSTICE IS REALIZED, HUMAN RIGHTS GUARANTEED, AND
WE CAN LIVE PROUDLY IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY.

LONG LIVE DEMOCRACY***

MARCH 1, 1976

HAM SOK-HON
YUN PO-SON
CHONG IL-HYONG
KIM TAE-CHUNG
KIM KWAN-SOK
UN MYONG-KI
YUN PAN-UNG
AN PYONG-MU
YI MUN-YONG
SO NAM-TONG
MUN TONG-HWAN
YI U-CHONG

END QUOTE.

2. IT SHOULD BE POINTED OUT THAT STATEMENT DID NOT BEAR TWELVE
SIGNATURES. NAMES WERE PRINTED, NOT WRITTEN. WE UNDERSTAND
FROM REV. KIM KWON-SOK THAT PERSONS LISTED WERE CONTACTED
VERBALLY, BUT IT NOT TOTALLY CLEAR THAT FORMAL AGREEMENT
WAS SOUGHT OR GIVEN IN EACH INSTANCE.

3. STATEMENT ON KIM CHI-HA CONSISTED OF LETTER FROM HIS MOTHER
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EXPLAINING HIS ARREST AND HARSH TREATMENT HE IS BEING SUB-
JECTED TO IN PRISON. THIS LETTER WAS READ BY A CATHOLIC PRIEST
WHO FOLLOWED WITH SHORT STATEMENT OF HIS OWN CALLING FOR MORE
HUMANE TREATMENT, NEW TRIAL AND ULTIMATE RELEASE OF KIM CHI-HA.
LETTER WAS NOT DISTRIBUTED, HOWEVER, WE WILL ENDEAVOR TO OBTAIN
COPY.
SNEIDER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, CHURCH STATE RELATIONS, OPPOSITION PARTIES, ARRESTS, PRISONERS WELFARE, PUBLIC CORRESPONDENCE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 MAR 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976SEOUL01660
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760084-0281
From: SEOUL
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760390/aaaadbfq.tel
Line Count: 380
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 STATE 53325
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28 MAY 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <08 JUL 2004 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PROTEST STATEMENT BY ROK OPPOSITION LEADERS
TAGS: PINT, KS, (KIM CHI HA), (HAM SOK-HON), (YUN PO-SON), (CHONG IL-HYONG)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006